1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

upon his parents cohabiting; and they immediately told everyone in the village.

Puberty Rites

Male puberty rites were divided into two periods. The first, which was preparatory, covered about three or four years and consisted of the administration of certain medicines (*okeis*) and body-scraping. The second covered a much shorter period and constituted the actual initiation of the boy into the men's group. The observances, starting when a boy was between ten and twelve years of age, increased in frequency and intensity until his final initiation. The purposes, as expressed by the Trumaí, were to make him grow big and strong, give him courage and fortitude, and mark certain achievements on the road to manhood.

Body-scraping was one of the most important means used to accomplish these ends. Two different types of scarification instruments were in use. One was a sort of comb made of fish teeth imbedded in wood; the other was a polished armadillo claw. The former was used during the early phases of scarification, the latter, during the late phases when the whole body was scraped.

The first scraping was limited to the arms or legs. Kamkuti received his initial scarification on the biceps as an aftermath of shooting his first fish. The scraping, painful though it was, was a reward and a recognition of manly achievement. It was also a test of endurance and resistance to pain, and the boy was admonished against flinching or weeping. Such occasions were the first on which the child was exhorted to be manly and courageous.

When the boy reached biological puberty, the scraping became more severe. Arms, legs, flanks, chest, back, and stomach were all scraped, and the operation must have been most painful. Each boy could expect to have this happen to him a few times during the course of his initiation. Jawaku, Maibu's foster-son, had his first overall scarification while Quain was in residence. This was a prelude to the full initiation rites, through which he was soon to pass. Jawaku was a very timid boy, and significantly lacked the assertiveness that was so much a part of Trumaí personality. Katauka, who was officiating, scraped his legs first, then his back, flanks and arms, ending with a light treatment on his chest and stomach. Jawaku looked extremely unhappy, but he did not cry until Katauka began scraping his back. Maibu held him firmly and told him not to cry, while others scolded him for being a baby.

Before the scarification started Jawaku's body was moistened with water from a nearby pot. After it was finished, Katauka rubbed him completely with the bark of the *aruparukatem* tree. This or the bark of the *fit'a* tree (the source of the fish poison previously referred to) were always used to treat the wounds made by scraping.